

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03155 01 OF 02 201600Z

41

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 091164

R 201504Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5884

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKYAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3155

EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE

REF: GENEVA 2816 NOTAL

SUMMARY: REFTEL ANALYZED THE QUESTION OF THE LEVEL OF THE
THIRD PHASE OF CSCE. THIS TELEGRAM TREATS THE SEPARATE BUT
RELATED QUESTION OF THIRD PHASE TIMING. GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 03155 01 OF 02 201600Z

IN FRANCE AND THE FRG, AN UNCERTAIN POLITICAL SITUATION IN

THE US, AND THE EVIDENT EFFECT OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ON SOVIET THINKING, HAVE RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE OF CSCE. IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT A THIRD PHASE COULD BE PUT TOGETHER IN JULY, AS HAS APPEARED MOST LIKELY FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT MANY DELEGATIONS HERE NOW BELIEVE A THIRD PHASE IN LATE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER IS A MORE REALISTIC AND FEASIBLE ALTERNATIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PROBLEM -- THE WORK OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE, AND THE TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE, FORM A CHICKEN-AND-EGG RELATIONSHIP. IT IS DIFFICULT TO BEGIN FOCUSING ON SPECIFIC DATES FOR PHASE THREE UNTIL DRAFTING WORK HAS ADVANCED SUFFICIENTLY TOWARD ACCEPTABLE CONCRETE RESULTS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ONLY THE PRESSURES RESULTING FROM GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF A TIME FRAME FOR CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BRING ABOUT COMPROMISES WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED TO PRODUCE THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS. UNTIL POMPIDOU'S DEATH, MOST DELEGATIONS HERE WERE WORKING UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT PHASE THREE WOULD TAKE PLACE IN MID-JULY, AND THE FINNS HAD UNDERTAKEN ELABORATE PREPARATIONS TO ACCOMMODATE THAT SCHEDULE. THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THEN, HOWEVER, HAVE CAUSED DELEGATIONS TO REWRITE THE EQUATION, AND FOR THE MOMENT THE FINAL SOLUTION REMAINS UNCLEAR. THE MOST POPULAR ALTERNATIVE DATES FOR THE THIRD PHASE ARE LATE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. THEORETICALLY IT WOULD ALSO BE POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE PHASE TWO IN THE AUTUMN, BUT MOST DELEGATIONS REJECT THIS OPTION FOR PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS.

2. NATIONAL POSITIONS -- THE SOVIETS, WHO ORIGINALLY HOPED TO CONCLUDE CSCE BY THE END OF 1973, OFFICIALLY ADVOCATE COMPLETION "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE," AND THIS THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AT ITS RECENT MEETING. HAVING BEEN REBUFFED WHEN THEY ESTABLISHED THEIR 1973 DEADLINE, THE SOVIETS ARE NOW UNWILLING TO STATE PUBLICLY THEIR CURRENT PREFERRED DATE. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, THEY ARE TELLING DELEGATIONS HERE THAT THEY WISH TO FINISH PHASE TWO BY THE END OF JUNE, FOR A THIRD PHASE BEGINNING EITHER JULY 16 OR JULY 23. THE FRG AND FRANCE WOULD MOST LIKELY HAVE OPTED FOR THE SAME SCHEDULE UNTIL RECENTLY, BUT THEIR NEW GOVERNMENTAL SITUATIONS HAVE SOMEWHAT COMPLICATED MATTERS. THE FRG DELEGATION HAS RECENTLY INDICATED IN SEVERAL WAYS THAT THEY MAY NOW PREFER A LONGER LAPSE OF

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03155 01 OF 02 201600Z

TIME BETWEEN THEIR SPY SCANDAL AND THE CONCLUDING PHASE OF CSCE. THE EVENTUAL POSITION OF THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT IS UNKNOWN AT THIS MOMENT, BUT MANY DELEGATIONS HERE FEEL THAT THE FRENCH MAY ALSO PREFER TO THIRD PHASE TO BE POSTPONED UNTIL THEIR NEW GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TIME TO SETTLE IN. THE UK DELEGATION HAS INDICATED A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR WINDING UP CSCE THIS SUMMER. VIRTUALLY ALL OTHER WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS FAVOR CONCLUDING THE CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND WOULD RALLY TO A THIRD PHASE IN

JULY IF THIS PROVED PRACTICABLE.

3. INFLUENTIAL FACTORS -- IN ADDITION TO THE NATIONAL POSITIONS --AND UNCERTAINTIES-- DESCRIBED ABOVE, THERE ARE CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS WHICH MAY INFLUENCE, TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT, THE TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE. FIRST AMONG THESE IS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN GENERAL, AND MORE PARTICULARLY THE STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE. OTHER IMPORTANT FACTORS ARE FINNISH PREPARATIONS, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE US, AND SOVIET ATTITUDES. THE FINNS HAVE MADE A SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT IN A JULY THIRTE PHASE, AND IF THIS SCHEDULE IS NOT MET, THEY WILL SUFFER FINANCIAL LOSSES WHICH FOR A SMALL COUNTRY WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT. MORE IMPORTANT, PERHAPS, IS THE POLITICAL INVESTMENT WHICH THEY AVE MADE IN A JULY SCENARIO. MANY COUNTRIES WILL BE RELUCTANT TO BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A POSTPONEMENT; NO ONE LIKES TO REGRET AN IMPORTANT INVITATION AT THE LAST MOMENT. AS FOR THE US POLITICAL SITUATION, EVERYONE HERE RECOGNIZES THAT THIS IS A KEY ELEMENT, AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION AS TO THE THIRD PHASE TIMING WHICH WOULD BEST SERVE THE DOMESTIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE US ADMINISTRATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03155 02 OF 02 201619Z

41

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 091464

R 201504Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5885

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY REYKYAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3155

EXDIS

NOFORN

MANY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS MAY, IN FACT, BE INCLINED TO RESERVE THEIR POSITIONS ON TIMING UNTIL THERE IS A CLEAR-CUT INDICATION OF US PREFERENCES. FINALLY, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, SOVIET ATTITUDES WILL PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE FINAL DECISION ON TIMING. IT IS THE SOVIETS WHO ARE IN A POSITION TO GIVE THE CONCESSIONS WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES CONSIDER ESSENTIAL TO A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE. SHOULD THEY DO SO, AN EARLY CONCLUSION WOULD FOLLOW NATURALLY. SHOULD THEY WITHHOLD EVEN RELATIVELY MINOR CONCESSIONS, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL GROUPS WILL RESIST PRESSURES FOR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 03155 02 OF 02 201619Z

EARLY CONCLUSION, AND THE PASSAGE OF TIME MAY MAKE POSTPONEMENT A MECHANICAL NECESSITY. FACED WITH GOVERNMENT INSTABILITY IN THE WEST, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TAKING A SOMEWHAT MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH AS THEY WAIT FOR THE POLITICAL SITUATION TO CLARIFY. THEY ARE KEENLY AWARE OF THE FRG'S RECENT HESITATIONS, AND THEY MAY ALSO HAVE SOME MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE USG. (THE POLISY PRESS AGENCY, IN AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ARTICLE ON CSCE MAY 15, MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: "IT CANNOT BE A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO ANYONE WHETHER THE FINAL DOCUMENT WILL BE SIGNED BY A GOVERNMENT LEADER WHOSE POSITION GUARANTEES THE CONTINUATION OF A GIVEN POLITICAL COURSE, OR BY A POLITICIAN WHO MAY SHORTLY STEP DOWN FROM HIS POST.") WHILE WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THE SOVIETS ARE COMMITTED TO A THIRD PHASE IN JULY, IT IS ONLY REALISTIC TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY COULD OPT FOR ANOTHER SCENARIO IF EVENTS CONVINCE THEM THAT THIS WOULD BE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS. SHOULD IT APPEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT WOULD BE DIFFICULT IN JULY, WE BELIEVE THEY WOULD PREFER TO POSTPONE.

4. MECHANICS -- THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS REQUIRE THE SECOND PHASE OF CSCE TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE THIRD PHASE, AND THUS AGREEMENT WILL HAVE TO BE REACHED ON A DATE FOR THE THIRD PHASE BEFORE SECOND PHASE WORK IS COMPLETED. THIS AGREEMENT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE FIRMED UP ONLY IN THE FINAL DAYS OF PHASE TWO, BUT AN INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING ON TIMING WILL BE REQUIRED BEFORE THEN. THE FINNS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY NEED A MINIMUM OF FOUR WEEKS' NOTIFICATION IN ORDER TO MAKE NECESSARY FINAL PREPARATIONS, AND THAT THEY WILL NEED AT LEAST A TWO-WEEK INTERVAL BETWEEN PHASES TWO AND THREE, IN ORDER TO PRINT

THE FINAL DOCUMENTS FOR SIGNATURE AND PUBLICATION. THUS A THIRD PHASE DURING THE LAST WEEK OF JULY MECHANICALLY WOULD REQUIRE A CONFERENCE DECISION BY LATE JUNE, AND A CONCLUSION OF PHASE TWO WORK NO LATER THAN THE FIRST WEEK OF JULY. OF COURSE THERE MAY BE SOME FLEXIBILITY BUILT INTO THE FINNISH REQUIREMENTS, BUT FOR PLANNING PURPOSES WE CONSIDER THEM FIRM. IN ADDITION, IT IS UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED THAT A THIRD PHASE DURING THE TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN HOLIDAY MONTH OF AUGUST IS OUT OF THE QUESTION, AND THE FINNS HAVE INDICATED THAT, IF A THIRD PHASE IN JULY IS NOT POSSIBLE, THEY WOULD PREFER LATE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, AFTER THE HELSINKI FESTIVAL WHICH ENDS SEPTEMBER 6 IT RESULTS FROM THESE MECHANICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAT, IF PHASE TWO WORK CANNOT BE COMPLETED BY EARLY JULY, THE THIRD PHASE WILL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03155 02 OF 02 201619Z

HAVE TO BE POSTPONED UNTIL LATE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. THIS CALENDAR GIVES ADDED IMPORTANCE TO THE MEETING OF THE EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS (MAY 27-28), EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS (JUNE 10-11), AND THE NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL (JUNE 18-19) SINCE EACH OF THESE GATHERING WILL DRAW CONCLUSIONS ABOUT CSCE.

5. TACTICS -- IN VIEW OF THE OBVIOUS SOVIET DESIRE FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO CSCE, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS HAVE HOPED TO USE THE TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE AS A LEVERAGE FOR OBTAINING SOVIET CONCESSIONS. THIS TACTIC HAS NOT REPEATED NOT PROVED VERY FRUITFUL THUS FAR, BUT REMAINS AN ACCEPTED ELEMENT OF ALLIED STRATEGY. IN ADDITION, NEITHER SIDE WANTS TO NEGOTIATE UNDER TIME PRESSURE, AND FOR THIS REASON THERE IS A GENERAL RELUCTANCE TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROPOSING DATES FOR PHASE THREE. NEVERTHELESS, THIS QUESTION BECOMES MORE AND MORE PERTINENT, AND AT THE LAST MEETING OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (MAY 16) THE POLISH DELEGATION HEAD PROPOSED SETTING THE "MENTAL TARGET DATE" OF JUNE 14 FOR COMPLETION OF PHASE TWO. MOST DELEGATES HERE CONSIDER THIS TIMING TOTALLY UNREALISTIC, BUT, WITH SOME SLIPPAGE TOWARD EARLY JULY, IT COULD FIT INTO THE HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIO FOR A THIRD PHASE IN LATE JULY. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO SEE THE EASTERN BLOC COMMITTED TO A FIRM SCHEDULE, SINCE THEY BELIEVE THE SOVIETS MAY THEN BE FORCED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO MEET IT. CONVERSELY, THE ALLIES VIRTUALLY ALL OPPOSE EARLY ACCEPTANCE OF A DATE FOR PHASE THREE FOR THIS WOULD EASE NEGOTIATING PRESSURES ON THE RUSSIANS. IN THIS SITUATION AGREEMENT ON PHASE THREE TIMING SEEMS MOST LIKELY TO EMERGE INFORMALLY AT FIRST, WITH NO FORMAL DECISION BEING TAKEN UNTIL QUITE LATE IN PHASE TWO.

6 US POSITION -- PROVIDED THE SOVIETS GIVE ENOUGH CONCESSIONS TO ASSURE THE GENERAL ACCEPTABILITY OF PHASE TWO RESULTS, A THIRD PHASE IN JULY REMAINS A POSSIBILITY, WITH ALTERNATIVE DATES IN LATE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. THE SOVIETS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF EC-NINE AND NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS,

AND THEY MAY TIME THEIR MOVES WITH A VIEW TO HAVING A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THOSE GROUPS WHETHER THE USG DECIDES THAT US INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY A THIRD PHASE THIS SUMMER OR IN THE AUTUMN, WE BELIEVE OUR FINAL POSITION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES. THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 03155 02 OF 02 201619Z

AN INFORMAL HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION, AND WILL BE CLOSE TO THE DEADLINE FOR DECIDING ON A THIRD PHASE IN JULY. AT THE SAME TIME, TO ENCOURAGE THE POSITIVE RESULTS WHICH WILL BE THE SINE QUA NON OF THE CONVENING OF THE THIRD PHASE, WE SHOULD USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS TO THE SOVIETS THAT AN EARLY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO CSCE DEPENDS ON THEIR WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE ON ISSUES WHICH WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLIC OPINION CONSIDER IMPORTANT.ABRAMS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA03155
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740124-0850
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740534/aaaabeeh.tel
Line Count: 297
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: GENEVA 2816 NOTAL
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <12 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: TIMING OF THE THIRD PHASE
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005